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## PLACE-NAMES IN THE AWNTYRS OFF ARTHURE

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The Awntyrs off Arthure at the Terne Wathelyne is an alliterative Arthurian verse narrative composed very likely during the last quarter of the fourteenth century.<sup>1</sup> As is generally the case with the Middle English romances, posterity has failed to preserve the identity of the author of this poem. Dialect studies of the Awntyrs indicate, however, that the composer was a native or at least a long-term resident of the northwest of England. He may well have been a Cumbrian; the poem contains some interestingly detailed descriptions of the Carlisle environs that suggest such was the case.

The romance consists of two episodes. The first opens with a lengthy description of Arthur and his court setting forth to hunt in Inglewood Forest near Carlisle. Queen Guenevere and her escort, Gawain, become separated from the rest of the party. As the queen pauses to rest in the shade of a laurel, the sky

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darkens and sleet begins to fall. Seeking shelter from the storm, the couple run into the woods. As they approach the banks of the Tarn Wadling (the Terne Wathelyne) a spirit rises from the water and challenges them. The apparition is the ghost of Guenevere's mother, temporarily released from purgatory in order to solicit from the queen prayers that will speed her passage to heaven. In the course of this bizarre confrontation, however, the ghost takes the opportunity to prophecy the fall of the Round Table, to give moral and theological advice to her listeners, and to discuss the nature of Fortune. After gaining the queen's assurance that she will pray for her mother's soul, the ghost vanishes into the woods. Guenevere and Gawain rejoin their companions.

The second episode of the poem begins when a stranger knight, one Gaherion of Galloway, presents himself at Arthur's court to demand the return of lands in Scotland that Arthur has seized and given to Gawain. The king and his followers, relaxing over their dinner after the day's hunt, lend a tolerant ear to the intruder's petition. It is eventually decided that the dispute will be settled by combat between Gawain and Gaherion, the latter to be reinstated with his lands if he wins. Midway through the battle, Guenevere intervenes on behalf of both knights, who are at the point of fatally injuring each other. Gaherion's lands are restored to him, and in due course he is initiated into the

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fellowship of the Round Table. Gawain is rewarded for his bravery with the grant of a dukedom in Wales.

No summary of the Awntyrs is sufficient to illustrate one of the more remarkable features of the poem: its abundance of place-names. In the course of the narrative, references are made to sixteen localities in southwestern Scotland alone. Ten of these have yet to be identified. Admittedly, there are a number of difficulties involved in so doing. The original manuscript of the Awntyrs, transcribed in the northern dialect, no longer exists. The four surviving copies of the poem, all of which date from the mid to late fifteenth century, are less satisfactory than we could wish. The Thornton MS. (Lincoln Cathedral Library MS. 91) was transcribed in a dialect closer to that of the original than were the other three, but lacks substantial portions of three stanzas. Douce (Bodleian Library MS. 21883) supplies the passages missing from T, but is flawed in its turn by a high percentage of grammatical errors and alterations of words and phrases. The Ireland Blackburne MS. (Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, Coligny, Geneva) offers certain readings superior to those found in T and D, but was copied in a dialect area even further removed from that of the original than was Douce. The Lambeth MS. (Lambeth Palace Library 491) was compiled by a southern scribe. This copy, as one of the editors of the Awntyrs has observed, is riddled with "errors of geographical

reference as well as grammatical form."<sup>2</sup> The unreliability of all four manuscripts is illustrated most clearly by the differences in the place-name references as recorded in each text: a reading in D may conflict with its opposite number in T, find support in I, and be omitted from L.

With one exception, the place-names mentioned in the first episode of the Awntyrs are familiar to all students of Middle English Arthurian romance.<sup>3</sup> The Tarn Wadling is located in Hesketh in the Forest in the Leath Ward of Cumberland. Arthur's hunt and the adventure of Guenevere and Gawain take place in Inglewood Forest, a name that appears in the MSS. of the poem as "Yggillwode" (following l. 715 in T), "Englond" (709D), and "Ingulwud" (709I). Forms of the name given in public documents compiled between 1227-1471 include "Englewud," "Ingelwod," "Inggilwode," and "Ingleswode,"<sup>4</sup> The area is the setting for the romances of the Avowing of Arthur, the Wedding of Sir Gawain and Dame Ragnell, and the Marriage of Sir Gawain.<sup>5</sup> It may be identical with the forest of Gorriende mentioned in the OF Fergus, though such a conjecture seems at best unlikely.<sup>6</sup>

After the hunt, Arthur and his knights proceed "to faire suppere" at what is variously given as "Rondoles halle" (337D), "Randolfe sett" (337T), and "Rondallesete" (337IL). John Robson speculated that "Rondallesete" may have been Randalholme,

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a manor in Plumpton Park in Lazonby in the Leath Ward, that "hay" of Inglewood Forest in which the Tarn Wadling is located.<sup>7</sup> F.J. Amours concurred with this hypothesis; Prentiss Hoyt rejected it, proposing that "Rondallesete" be identified with Haworth Castle twelve miles north of Carlisle.<sup>8</sup> The force of Hoyt's argument that Randalholme is inaccessible from the Tarn Wadling is considerably diminished by the fact that later in the Awntyrs a pavilion for the spectators at the combat between Gleron and Gawain is erected on what is variously given as "Plumtone land" (475D), "Plumtun lone" (475I) and "Plontone land" (475L). (Most of the stanza containing this reference has been torn away in T, but what is left of l. 475 begins "By that one Plu....," so it is probable that some form of the name appeared here). In view of the proximity of Plumpton Park to Randalholme, it seems likely that Robson's identification of the site with "Rondallesete" is correct.<sup>9</sup>

The stranger knight who rides into Arthur's court claims to be the "greatest of Galloway" as well as lord of several other territories in the surrounding area. Modern Galloway comprises the shire of Wigtown and the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, the two southwesternmost districts in Scotland. At one time, however, the borders of the territory were extended to include parts of the shires of Ayr and Dumfries.<sup>10</sup> So it is difficult to say precisely what significance the term "Galloway" might

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have held for a poet who lived during the latter half of the fourteenth century.

W.J. Watson writes that "of the history of Galloway and Dumfriesshire--the land of the Novantae and the Selgovae--in the centuries following the Roman evacuation we have but little definite knowledge."<sup>11</sup> The fifth century inhabitants of the territory were Britons. During the seventh century, Galloway was taken over by the Anglian tribes of Northumbria. Roughly a hundred years before this, however, there commenced an influx of Gaelic speakers into the area--an influx that continued into the ninth century. Galloway was settled between 875 and 950 by the Gall-gháidhil, a people of Celtic-Scandinavian heritage who ultimately became the predominating population group of the region. The name Gall-gháidhil means "foreign Gael," although, as John MacQueen has remarked, "it is clear that by 1138 the Gallovidians did not think of themselves as being in any way gall--the term was reserved for the Normans and English."<sup>12</sup> This latter wave of immigrants proved to be an indomitably separatist minded people. "In the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries the Gall-gháidhil existed as a virtually independent state with their own laws and customs administered by rulers whom the Irish annalists habitually describe as kings...."<sup>13</sup>

The Scottish locale dealt with in the Awntyrs takes on a particular significance for medieval romance in general. K.G.T.

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Webster notes that Galloway "was for the Middle Ages a land of special character..."<sup>14</sup> For whatever reasons, the area certainly attracted considerable notice. In Lazamon's Brut, the men of Galloway, along with the Irish, Picts, Scots, Danes and Norwegians, are defeated by Constantine and the Britons. Arthur later conquers the rebellious province and adds it to his own dominion.<sup>15</sup> There are references to the lordship in Of Arthour and of Merlin and in the prose Merlin.<sup>16</sup> In the latter, the men of Galloway are said to form a military unit under the leadership of Bretel, duke of Tintagel. "Gallowa" is mentioned in the late fifteenth century Scots Lancelot of the Laik, in the course of an obscure passage that seems to connect the territory with Gawain.<sup>17</sup>

In this context it should be noted that the association of Gawain with Galloway, far from being an invention of the later medieval English and Scottish poets, may be traced as far back as the early twelfth century. The first reference in written literature to such a connection occurs not in a romance but in the chronicle of William of Malmesbury (c. 1125). Here, it is recorded that during the reign of William the Conqueror the tomb of one Walwen was discovered in the province of Ros. This renowned warrior, "qui fuit haud degener Arturis ex sorore nepos," had been ruler of Walweitha (Galloway) until



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his expulsion from the territory by the nephew and brother of Hengist.<sup>18</sup>

The first cluster of Gallovidian place-names in the Awntyrs appears in ll. 419-20, when Galeron announces his claim to those territories Arthur has seized "with a wrong will" and given to Gawain. As each of the manuscripts offers a slightly different reading of this passage, it would probably be best to quote from all four in order to determine which most closely approximates that given in the original version of the poem. According to the Thornton text, the Scottish knight asserts his right to the lordship

Of Konyng of Carryke of Conyngame of Kille  
Of Lomonde of Lenay of Lowthyane hillis.

In the Douce version, however, Galeron lays claim to the territories

Of Connok of Conyngham and also Kyle  
Of Lomond of Losex of Loyane hilles.

The Ireland MS. lists the holdings in question as including the districts of

Of Carrake of Cummake of Conyngame of Kile  
Of Lonwik of Lannax of Laudoune hillus.

And finally, according to Lambeth, Galeron has been dispossessed

Of Connok of Careyke of Coyngam of Kille  
Of Lomound of Leynaux of Lewans hillis.

Despite the obvious variation from one manuscript to the next, the place-names mentioned in the first of these lines present no problems in terms of identification. As was noted

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before, Galloway originally included some parts of the shires of Ayr and Dumfries. Ayr itself is partitioned into thirds by the rivers Irvine and Doon. Of these natural divisions, the area designated as Carrick lies to the south and that of Cunninghame to the north, with Kyle falling between the two. Lying within Kyle itself are the parishes of Old and New Cumnock, which were at one time incorporated into a single barony. (Carrick was the earldom of the Bruce family, and Cunninghame and Kyle separate baronies in their own right ). "Carryke" (T) "Carrake" (I) "Careyk" (L) of course correspond to Carrick, "Conyngame" (TI) "Conyngham" (D) "Coynhem" (L) to Cunninghame, and "Kylle" (T) "Kyle" (D) "Kile" (K) "Kylle" (L) to Kyle. Frederic Madden established that the "Konynge" of T and the "Connok" of D are variations of Cumnock.<sup>19</sup>

Despite the fact that "Konynge" does not really bear much similarity to Cumnock, it would seem that no reference to another locality was intended here. In the process of transcribing the text, the scribe probably accidentally substituted the first two syllables of "Conyngame" for a name that more closely resembled the "Cummake" and "Connok" of the other MSS. In view of the fact that alliteration is the principle stylistic feature of the line, it is not difficult to see how such an error could have been made. At any rate, no district known simply as "Konynge" --or any reasonable variation thereof--appears to have existed

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in southwestern Scotland at the time the poem was written. And as T is a northern copy, it is entirely possible that the scribe was at least roughly familiar with the geography of the area.

Because of the disagreement among the texts, the localities mentioned in l. 420 are somewhat more difficult to identify than those referred to in l. 419. But it is possible to determine some sort of pattern not only in the scribal alteration to which the place-names have been subject but the position each occupies within the line itself. The groups break down in the following manner:

Lomonde	(T)	Lenay	(T)	Lowthyane hillis	(T)
Lomond	(D)	Losex	(D)	Loyane hilles	(D)
Lonwik	(I)	Lannax	(I)	Laudoune hillus	(I)
Lomound	(L)	Leynaux	(L)	Lewans hillis	(L)

Madden remarks that the territory designated in T as "Lomonde" is in Dunbartonshire.<sup>20</sup> F.J. Amours recognizes this reference and that to "Lomond" in D, but confesses himself puzzled by the manner in which they are applied.<sup>21</sup> The use of the name as a territorial designation is entirely appropriate, however, both within the context of the poem and in geographic terms. Loch Lomond itself is situated in Dunbartonshire and Stirlingshire. Renfrew and Lanark lie roughly side by side beneath Dunbartonshire, which runs along and below the loch. Ayrshire is in turn bordered in part by Lanark and Renfrew. Below these shires lie Dumfries to the east and Wigtown and Kirkcudbright

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to the west. As I have already pointed out, several of these territories have been claimed by Gleron as part of his lordship. The place-name Lomond might here be intended to refer to the northernmost half of the Scottish knight's holdings.

In the Ireland MS., however, the reference to "Lomond" has been replaced by one to "Lonwik." There are several possible explanations for this substitution. Robson considers "Lonwik" a scribal error for "Lanark."<sup>22</sup> Amours, who believes that I offers a reading closer to the original version of l. 420 than do the other three texts, points out that "Lonwik" may in fact be a corrupt spelling of "Lanrik," the old form of Lanark.<sup>23</sup> This suggestion is substantiated by the fact that at least parts of Lanark lie well within the territory Gleron is attempting to wrest back from Arthur and Gawain. And in l. 681 of D we find a reference to the district of "Loynak"--a place-name bearing some similarity to "Lonwik."

All these elements add up to the possibility that the Ireland MS. does, in this case, preserve a better reading of l. 420 than do the others. One final consideration remains. I was transcribed in Lancashire, and here we find the town of Lowick. The use of this name dates back to at least 1202, where one source gives it as "Lofwic." It is derived from the ON Lauf-vík, meaning "leafy bend."<sup>24</sup> Now, since Lowick and "Lofwic" bear a closer similarity to "Lonwick" than do "Lanrick" or

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Lanark, it is possible that the scribe of I intentionally or accidentally substituted for the Scottish place-name a place-name closer to home. The fact that a similar sort of emendation occurs later on in the Ireland text of the Awntyrs adds weight to this argument. At any rate, the agreement in l. 420 between T and D--which are closer in a geographic sense to the original version of the poem than I--as well as the evidence of L both support the reading of Lomond and contradict Amours' assumption. But since "Lonwick" interpreted as Lanark falls naturally within the district of Lomond the disparity between I and T, D and L does not really affect the actual setting of the Awntyrs.

Despite the wild variations in the spelling, it would seem that the names in the second column all designate the same area. "Lenay" and "Losex" do not sound much like Lennox, but there is a sound linguistic basis for equating the three. The region of Lennox, an earldom and ancient county, "comprised Dunbartonshire, a large part of Stirlingshire, and parts of Perthshire and Renfrewshire,"<sup>25</sup> or roughly the same territory designated by the poet as "Lomond." This correspondence has a definite historical precedent. The name Lennox is derived from Gaelic Leamhain.<sup>26</sup> On Gough's map (c. 1360), the territory is referred to as comitatus de levenay--a name much resembling the "Lenay" of T. Other early forms of Lennox include "Levenaus" (1296)<sup>27</sup> and "Levenax" (1357).<sup>28</sup> All such variants are merely Anglicized

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plurals of Gaelic Leamhnach, "men of Lennox." (Such a term of course reflects the status of the district as an earldom.) The form "Levenaus" in particular bears a close resemblance to the "Leynaux" of L. Only in I does a version of the name occur that closely resembles the modern spelling of Lennox, which is perhaps why Amours chose to regard the I text as the most accurate in this case.

Robson identified the "Laudoune hillus" of I as Loudon Hill.<sup>29</sup> The "Lowthyane hillis" of T, the "Loyane hilles" of D and the "Lewans hillis" of L probably refer to the Lothian Hills. But, as Amours remarks, "the 'Lothian hills' are too far east to be parts of the lands of the lords of Galloway."<sup>30</sup> On the other hand, the locality cited in 420I falls well within the bounds of Galeron's lordship as it has so far been described; Loudon Hill is in Ayrshire.

The next cluster of place-names appears in ll. 665-70, immediately following the passage describing the peaceable settlement of the dispute between Gawain and Galeron. Pleased by the manner in which his nephew has acquitted himself, Arthur rewards Gawain with a sizable tract of land, consisting according to T, D and I of "Glamergane" land ("Glomorgans" in L) and the worship of Wales (ll. 665-66). In D, this grant also includes

...criffones castelles curnelled ful clene;  
 Eke Vlster halle, to hafe and to holde,  
 Wayford and Waterford in Wales I wene;  
 Two baronrees in Bretayne, with burghes so bolde,  
 Pat arne batailed abou<sup>3</sup>te and bigged ful bene.

The corresponding passage in T gives Gawain the lordship of "Gryffones castelle," "pe Husters haulle," "Wayfurthe" and "Wakfelde" and two baronies in Burgundy. In I, these possessions become "Kirfre castelle," "Hulkers home," "Wayifforthe," and "Waturforthe" and two baronies in "Bretan." Line 667 in L reads simply "cuntres and castels," a probably rationalization on the part of a scribe to whom the name "Griffon" (or some variation thereof) meant absolutely nothing. The rest of the passage lists Gawain's new possessions as "Hulster al holy," "Wayford and Waterford" and the two baronies mentioned in D and I.

"Criffones castelles," "Gryffones castelle" and "Kirfre castelle" all appear to refer to the same place, of which I cannot find any trace under those names in Wales, southwestern Scotland or northwestern England. It is of course possible that such a site could have at one time existed in any one of these three territories without appearing in contemporary records. But the complete lack of any surviving notice seems to preclude the possibility that a place well-known enough to command the attention of a poet and at least three scribes--all of whom were working at separate times and places--could have managed to escape the eyes of the compilers of official documents.<sup>31</sup>

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"Griffon's Castle" may have been a tag invented by the composer of the Awntyrs for application to a legitimate but, from his standpoint, less appropriately named locality. If this is so, then it becomes necessary to look for a site the associations and location of which fit most neatly in the context of ll. 667-71 of the poem. One such is Walwyn's Castle, cited in early public records as Castro Walwam (1291), "Castle Gawen" (1293), "Castle Galwan" (1299), "Castellgawene" (1350), or "Castrum Wallwayn" (1437).<sup>32</sup> From the vast number of references to it in official documents--only a sample of these has been given above--Walwyn's Castle seems to have been quite a well-known locality during the period when the Awntyrs was composed and transcribed. Furthermore, it is situated in an area falling well within the geographic scope of the poem--Pembrokeshire in South Wales. The very name of the site gives it an undoubted longstanding association with the Arthurian tradition.

The connection between Walwyn's Castle and "Criffones" or "Gryffones" castle is further justified by an interesting bit of information provided earlier in Awntyrs. In ll. 509-10, Gawain's armorial bearings are described as

...griffons of golde engreled fulle gay,  
Trifeled withe tranes and true-loves bitwene.

Now, it is only in the alliterative Morte Arthure that we find a similar device ascribed to him.<sup>33</sup> In Sir Gawain and the Green



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Knight, Gawain bears a pentangle,<sup>34</sup> while in most of the other romances his arms consist of a lion or a two-headed eagle.<sup>35</sup> Keeping this in mind, it becomes easier to understand how a reference to "Griffon's Castle" could have been intended to signify "Gawain's Castle." In the romances, it is not at all infrequent for an individual to be identified by his arms rather than by name--such a case in fact occurs in ll. 306-07 of the Awntyrs, where Mordred is described as a subject bearing a silver saltire on his shield.

Another possibility remains to be discussed. "Gryffone" and "Criffone" are certainly Anglicizations of Welsh Gruffydd. It may be then that the reference in the Awntyrs applies to a site associated with Gruffydd ap Cynan (c. 1054 [5]-1137), king of Gwynedd in North Wales. Gruffydd was born in Dublin of Welsh-Scandinavian parentage, and was, on his mother's side, a descendant of Sihtric Silkenbeard. His father was the son of Iago, who had been deposed from the throne of Gwynedd and slain in 1039. Cynan does not appear to have been inclined to exert himself to regain his inheritance, preferring to remain in Dublin enjoying whatever emoluments came the way of an inlaw of a Viking royal family. His son, however, dedicated the greater part of his career to establishing himself on the throne of Gwynedd. So persistent were Gruffydd's efforts in this direction as to win him memorialization in a biography--an honor accorded

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no other Welsh prince. This biography, although heavily weighted in its subject's favor, provides a good record of affairs in Wales during Gruffydd's lifetime.<sup>36</sup> The very fact that Gruffydd's personal history was considered by one writer to be worthy of preservation suggests something of the nature and extent of the fame the prince enjoyed. Given such celebrity, it is entirely possible that his name could have become associated with a site in Wales, a site (or sites, in view of the plural "Criffones castelles" in Awntyrs D) also well-known enough to come to the attention of a fourteenth century poet.

As difficult to identify as "Griffon's Castle" is "~~pe~~ Husters haulle" of 668 T, appearing in D as "Vlster halle" and in I as "Hulkers home." (The "Hulster al holy" of L can be eliminated from the discussion as the rationalization of a scribe who was not in any case very familiar with many of the other localities named in the poem). "Husters haulle" and "Vlster halle" have no equivalents in Wales or Scotland.<sup>37</sup> "Hulkers home," however, appears to have one in Lancashire, where the Ireland MS. was transcribed. In Cartmel Parish, Lonsdale Hundred of this county there is a Holker Hall. The name dates back to at least 1276, and through 1557 is given in the forms of "Holkerre," "Holker" and "Howker." Ekwall writes that "the original Holker was no doubt near Holker Hall; the name to be extended to the districts now called Lower and Upper Holker, the old Walton."<sup>38</sup>

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It is distinctly possible that the scribe of I was reminded of Holker or Holker Hall by a similar-sounding name in l. 668 of the poem he was copying, and so substituted a place-name he was acquainted with for one less familiar. But this does not identify the site the poet of the Awntyrs had in mind.

What the poet may have been thinking of was a locality in the vicinity of Carlisle. One such possibility is Hwer Hill, appearing in records compiled between 1292-1371 as "Houerg," "Houhere," "Hogher" and "Hwer."<sup>40</sup> This hill is located in Castle Sowerby of the Leath Ward, which places it not especially far from the other Cumberland localities mentioned in the poem. The same can be said of Hutton Hall in Penrith in Leath. This name appears as "Hutounhall" or "Hutonhall" in 1582.<sup>42</sup> Hewthwaite Hall in Selmurthy, Allerdale, is "Hotweyt" (1260), "Hothweyt" (1290), "Hothuuayt" (1312), "Hothwait" (1366), "Hothwayt" (1369) and "Huthwayt" (1268, 1383, 1399).<sup>43</sup> Hullerbank in Hayton, Eskdale, appears as "Hulverbancke" (c. 1220) and "hullerbank" (1380).<sup>44</sup> Uldale in Allerdale is "Woludale" (1286), "Uvedale" (1305), "Oulfsdale" (1328), "Ulledale" (1332), "Ulfdale" (1359) and "Uldale" (1391).<sup>45</sup> All these place-names contain at least one element that resembles either "Huster" or "Vlster." Furthermore, each site is a fairly satisfactory one from a geographic standpoint.<sup>46</sup>

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D is the only manuscript of the Awntyrs to localize "Wayford" and "Waterford" in Wales. T, I and L merely refer to them as walled areas, giving no hint of their location. Robert Ackerman suggests that "Wayford" and "Waterford" may simply be the same name repeated.<sup>47</sup> All the texts of the poem refer to "Wayford" ("Wayfurthe" T, "Wayifforthe" I), while T changes "Waterford" to "Wakfe!de." But since there is no Wakefield in Cumberland, Wales or southwestern Scotland that I could find notice of it seems likely that this emendation resulted from the scribe's wish to avoid the repetition of two virtually identical names. There is a Wakefield in the West Riding of Yorkshire, as well as a Wakefield Gate and a Wakefield Folly, but it is highly improbable that the poet of the Awntyrs had any of these in mind.

It would be tempting to identify "Wayford" with Watford in Eglwysilian, Caerphilly Hundred, Glamorganshire,<sup>48</sup> but the manner in which the Awntyrs composer couples "Wayford" with "Waterford" suggests strongly that the two are located in the same general area, and I could find no record of another name closely resembling either "Wayford" or "Waterford" in Wales. Another possible identification for "Wayford" is Wasford in Kylestewart, Ayrshire. This name appears in 1340 as "Waschford" and again in 1401 as "Wasford."<sup>49</sup> There is a harbor of Waterfoot at the mouth of Annan Water in Dumfries, which might be the "Waterford" of the Awntyrs. But Wasford and Waterfoot lie within

that territory over which Galeron claims lordship, and it would be pointless for Arthur to grant Gawain a holding that the knight will shortly surrender to his opponent.

In view of this drawback, it seems worthwhile to consider the possibility that the four most obscure place-names in ll. 667-69 of the Awntyrs--"Criffones castelles," "Vlster halle," "Wayford," and "Waterford"--may be Irish. The first element of "Criffones castelles" bears a distinct resemblance to the first element of Griffinstown, a town in Ballynure Parish in the barony of Talbotstown Upper in County Wicklow. This name appears as early as 1297 as "Griffineston," "Griffiniston" or "Cryfyneston," and again in 1540 as "Gryffynston" and "Griffenston."<sup>50</sup> The Awntyrs poet could have appended the word "Castelles" to the first element of Griffinstown in order to preserve the alliteration of the line or to impress more strongly on his audience the idea that Gawain's new holdings are truly of ducal proportions.

A resemblance even closer than that of "Criffones castelles" to Griffinstown exists between "Wayford" and Wexford, a name appearing in early sources as "Weisford" or "Weyseford" (1297, 1344, 1351).<sup>51</sup> The neighboring county of Waterford may be the "Waterford" of the Awntyrs. And finally, it is possible that the place-name "Vlster halle" was intended to represent a site in the province of Ulster itself.

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Any attempt to identify the last of the holdings with which Arthur rewards Gawain for his prowess in combat--the two baronies in "Bretayne" (T has Burgoyne)--is bound to yield only inconclusive results. The reference is general, and could apply to any one of a number of places. Had the two baronies been located in England, Wales, Scotland or Ireland, the poet would no doubt have given the sites names at least roughly familiar to his audience. No purpose could have been served by a lack of specificity here. In view of this, it seems likely that we are intended to read "Bretayne" or "Bretan" as Brittany. All of the other references in the Awntyrs to the Continent are similarly comprehensive.

The next list of place-names appears in l. 678, when Gawain is prompted by Arthur to renounce his claim to the lordship of Galloway. In a brief but significant speech, the knight offers to return to Gleron all the territory extending from

Lowyke to Layre	(T)
Lauer to Layre	(D)
Logher to Layre	(I)
Lowyke to Layre	(L)

His gesture is a munificent one, but because of the disagreement among the four MSS. on the first place-name it is difficult to establish exactly what lands Gawain is planning to give back to his former opponent.

There is little doubt that "Layre" is Ayr, for, as Amours notes, the "L" has surely been prefixed to the name only in order

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to maintain the alliteration of the line in which it appears.<sup>52</sup> The "Lauer" of D and the "Logher" of I are probably variants of the same name. Robson proposed that "Logher" be read as a reference to the Lochar Moss in southwest Dumfriesshire; Amours remarked that "Logher" might just as well apply to the Lochar Water, which runs through the Lochar Moss.<sup>53</sup> It seems to me equally possible that the poet of the Awntyrs had in mind the Locher Water in Renfrewshire, or perhaps Loughrigg in St. Bees, Allerdale, a name appearing in 1288 as "Loukerig" and in 1540 as "Lokerigge".<sup>54</sup> The composer may even have been thinking of Lough in Plumpton Wall. This latter was an estate taking its name, as two eighteenth-century antiquaries inform us, "from a small lake, as it seemeth, just before it."<sup>55</sup> If the "Logher" or the "Lauer" is indeed Lough, then Gawain would be making over to Galerón his claim to all the territory between Ayr and Carlisle, which would include most of the old kingdom of Cumbria.

The Thornton and Lambeth MSS. refer to the area in question as "Lowyke"--a name bearing at least as much resemblance to "Lanrik" (Lanark) as "Lauer" and "Logher" do to Lochar. Ayr and Lanark could quite reasonably be considered to form the eastern and western boundaries of the lordship to which Galerón lays claim. But the poet's purpose would have been equally well served by the choice of Lough or, as Robson points out, the Lochar Moss to designate the southern most edge of a territory

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taken up on the North by Ayr.<sup>56</sup> This makes it virtually impossible to determine which reading of l. 678 preserves the composer's intent. The reading of "Lanark to Ayr" may, however, receive some support from 420I if "Lonwik" here is read as "Lanark."

Since l. 679 is merely a repetition of l. 419, the place-names mentioned here need not be discussed again. It is interesting to note, however, that the reference to "Konynge" in 419T has been emended to "Commoke" in 697T. In 679D the expected reference to Carrick has been replaced by one to "Carlele." The names do sound roughly similar, and both fit the alliterative pattern of the line. In addition, as Carlisle is the seat of Arthur's court, several references to it have already appeared in the poem.<sup>57</sup> Keeping such factors in mind, it is not difficult to see how the accidental substitution of Carlisle for Carrick could have taken place.

The localities mentioned in l. 681--a line missing from the Lambeth and Ireland MSS.--present an enormous problem with respect to identification. "One expects here the same names as in l. 420, the rime-letter being the same, though the end-rime is not," Amours remarks. "As the two texts stand, I am afraid nothing can be made out of them. We need scarcely regret the omission of two lines in I., as they would probably have made



confusion worse confounded."<sup>58</sup>

The confusion Amours speaks of arises from the fact that D offers an entirely different reading of the line than does T. According to the Thornton version, Galeron's lands include

The Lebynge the Lowpyng the Leveastre Iles

In the Douce MS., his territory is said to encompass

þe Loper þe Lemmoke þe Loynak þe Lile

Within the space of one line, then, the reader is confronted with a group of seven place-names having nothing in common but the letter with which each begins.

The references to the "Lebynge" and the "Lowpyng" appear to make absolutely no sense whatsoever. It may be that the "Lebynge" is in fact the area around the Levern, a stream near Paisley in Renfrewshire, or, as Ralph Hanna suggests, the river Leven in Dumbartonshire.<sup>59</sup> What gives this latter proposal some weight is the fact that the Leven and the territory through which it runs are a part of the old Lomond district. "Lowpyng" does not really bear much significant similarity to any place-name I could locate in southern Scotland. There is a slight possibility, however, that it may correspond to the reference to "þe Loper" in D.

There is some reason to believe that the enchantingly named "Leveastre Iles" of T are in fact the Western Isles. In early

sources, the word "wester" (western) appears as "Westir" (1365), "Westyr" (1389), and "Wester" (1438).<sup>60</sup> The Register of The Great Seal of Scotland, 1513-1546, has "Vest," "Westir," "Westire," "Vester" and "Vestir."<sup>61</sup> Several of these forms are sufficiently similar to the (le) Veastre of 681T to suggest that the latter should be read as "wester."

The identification of the Hebrides with the "Leveastre Isles" is supported by other evidence. Judging from the considerable number of references to them in certain literary texts, the Western Isles, like Galloway, held a peculiar fascination for the composers of Continental as well as Middle English Arthurian romance. The Hebrides form a prominent part of the landscape of the early thirteenth century Fergus, a story set in Cumbria at large. It is of interest too that in this romance the Western Isles should be closely associated with Galloway.

There was in fact an historical connection between the southwest mainland and island territories. The form of the name Galloway current in the ninth century applied to the Hebrides as well as to the western coastlands of Scotland.<sup>62</sup> Belonging to the family of Gall-gháidhil that moved into Galloway (and probably into Carrick and Kyle as well) were the Gall who settled in the Western Isles. The Hebrides consequently became known as Inse-gall, or "Islands of the Foreigners." It is from this term that Ingegal, the name by which the Western Isles are

known in Fergus, came to be deriyed.<sup>63</sup>

Given this, it is not difficult to see how the poet of the Awntyrs could have felt justified in allowing Galeron of Galloway to assume the lordship of the isles. The argument holds true even if the inclusion of the "Le Veastre Iles" among the Scottish properties listed in T is the result of scribal emendation. The point is simply that the association between Galloway and the Hebrides was well enough recognized for someone at some stage of the textual transmission of the Awntyrs to have felt it worth noting.

The identification that can be proposed for the first place-name mentioned in 681D is slightly less tentative than those put forth for the "Lebynge" of T. Probably the "Loper" is the territory in the vicinity of the Lowther Hills, a range of mountains separating Dumfriesshire from Lanarkshire. The Lowthers are also known as the Leadhills, which may account for the failure of past students of the Awntyrs to recognize the distinct resemblance existing between the first name and "Loper".

The "Lemmoke" is likely the Lennox, the area around Loch Lomond first referred to in l. 420.<sup>64</sup> If this identification is correct, then there is yet another variant of the name to add to the "Lenay," "Losex," "Lannax" and "Leynaux" of the earlier passage. "Loynak" may be Lanark.

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In view of the fact that a good deal of easily accessible information on the subject exists, it is curious that the reference to "~~be~~ Lile" should have remained such a mystery to those who have examined the Douce MS. George Fraser Black writes that "a family of this name were barons of Duchal in Renfrewshire as early as the beginning of the thirteenth century."<sup>65</sup> As I have pointed out, Renfrewshire could quite reasonably be considered a part of Galeron's holdings. So it is entirely possible that it is to the barony held by the Lyles that the reference in D applies.

The final problem is to decide which of the readings of l. 681 is superior. The localities mentioned in one make just as much sense in the context of the poem as do those named in the other. The reading in 681D is, however, supported by the fact that it probably contains a reference to one of the sites (Lennox) mentioned in l. 420 of all four MSS. of the Awyntyrs. Further, the place-names cited in D are attached to somewhat better defined localities than are those in T--the reference to the barony of the Lyles is, for example, a far more specific one than that to Leven or Levern. Finally, there may be a repetition in 681T itself of part of 681D; as I noted above, "Lowpynge" is possibly just a corruption of "~~Lo~~per" or Lowther. For such reasons it would probably be safest to accept 681D as a more accurate reflection of the composer's intention.

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This completes the place-name survey of the Awntyrs. It is unfortunate that because of scribal error, emendation and deletion, no more than a tentative identification can be assigned to some of the localities cited in the work. A fifth transcript of the poem, were such a thing to come to light, might provide readings to clarify such ambiguities as those present in 681T. More likely, as Amours remarked, it would only serve to make "confusion worse confounded."

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## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Most recently edited by Robert J. Gates, The Awntyrs off Arthure at the Terne Wathelyne (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1969) and Ralph Hanna III, The Awntyrs off Arthure at the Terne Wathelyn (Manchester: Manchester University Press, and New York: Barnes and Noble, 1974). Both Gates and Hanna have produced useful, scholarly works. Since Gates gives a fuller account of the manuscript variants, his is the edition I shall quote from here.

<sup>2</sup>Gates, p. 73.

<sup>3</sup>The spectre makes a series of references to various locations on the Continent (ll. 276-84) and predicts that the Round Table will fall "beside Ramsey full rad at a riding" (l. 294) and that the boldest of Arthur's men will die at Dorset (l. 295). These passages are given detailed discussion by William Matthews, The Tragedy of Arthur (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1960), pp. 157-58.

<sup>4</sup>A.M. Armstrong, A. Mawer, F.M. Stenton and Bruce Dickins, The Place-Names of Cumberland, Vol. XX of English Place-Name Society (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950), 38. Hereafter abbreviated to EPN 20.

<sup>5</sup>Sir Amadace and the Avowing of Arthur, ed. Christopher Brookhouse, *Anglistica* 15 (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger,

1968); The Wedding of Sir Gawain and Dame Ragnell, ed. Laura Sumner, Smith College Studies in Modern Languages, Vol. V, Part 4 (Northampton, Mass.: Smith College, 1924); The Marriage of Sir Gawaine, in Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript, ed. J.W. Hales and F.J. Furnivall, I (London, 1867), 103-18, reprinted in Sources and Analogues of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, ed. W.F. Bryan and Germaine Dempster (1941: rpt. New York: The Humanities Press, 1958), pp. 253-41.

<sup>6</sup>Fergus, Roman von Guillaume le Clerc, ed. Ernst Martin (Halle: Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1872), p. xxi.

<sup>7</sup>Three Early English Metrical Romances (London: Camden Society, 1842), p. xv.

<sup>8</sup>"The Anturs of Arthur at the Tarne Wathelan," Diss. Harvard University 1902, pp. 164-68.

<sup>9</sup>It is odd that Frederic Madden, who identified the reference in l. 475 as being to Plumpton, did not make the connection between "Rondallesete" and Randalholme. See Syre Gawayne; A Collection of Ancient Romance Poems.... Relating to that Celebrated Knight of the Round Table (1839; rpt. New York: AMS Press, Inc., and Johnson Reprint Corp., 1971), p. 334, note to p. 117.

<sup>10</sup>W. Johnston and A.K. Johnston, Johnston's Gazetteer of Scotland, 2nd ed. rev. B.B. Hartop, A.C.M. and M. Rodger

(Edinburgh and London: W. and A.K. Johnston and G.W. Bacon, 1958), p. 103.

<sup>11</sup>History of the Celtic Place-Names of Scotland (Edinburgh and London: Wm. Blackwood and Sons Ltd., 1926), p. 101.

<sup>12</sup>"The Picts in Galloway," Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society, 3rd series, 39 (1960-61), 141. For further information on the early history of Galloway, see also John MacQueen, "Kirk- and Kil- in Galloway Place-Names," Archivum Linguisticum, 8 (1956), 135-49, and "Welsh and Gaelic in Galloway," Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society, 3rd series, 32 (1953-53), 77-92.

<sup>13</sup>John MacQueen, "The Gaelic Speakers of Galloway and Carrick," Scottish Studies, 17 (1973), 27-28

<sup>14</sup>"Galloway and the Romances," Modern Language Notes, 55 (1940), 163.

<sup>15</sup>Lazamon: Brut, ed. G.L. Brook and R.F. Leslie, Early English Text Society, No. 277, II (London, New York and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1978), 11. 10189 (MS. Caligula), 10502 (MS. Caligula), 11661 (MS. Caligula).

<sup>16</sup>Of Arthour and of Merlin, ed. O.D. Macrae-Gibson, Early English Text Society, No. 268, I (London and New York: Oxford



University Press, 1973), 1. 4356; Merlin or the Early History of King Arthur, ed. Henry B. Wheatley, Early English Text Society, O.S. No. 36, II, Part 3 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench and Trübner and Co. Ltd., 1869), 657.

<sup>17</sup>Lancelot of the Laik, ed. M.M. Gray, Scottish Text Society, N.S. 2 (Edinburgh and London: Wm. Blackwood and Sons, 1912), 1. 2692.

<sup>18</sup>Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi De Gestis Regum Anglorum. Libri Quinque; Historiae Novellae Libri Tres, ed. W. Stubbs, Rolls Series, No. 90 (London: H.M. Stationer's Office, 1889), II, 342.

<sup>19</sup>Madden, p. 334, note to p. 115.

<sup>20</sup>Madden, p. 334, note to p. 115.

<sup>21</sup>Scottish Alliterative Poems in Riming Stanzas, Scottish Text Society, No. 38, II (Edinburgh and London: Wm. Blackwood and Sons, 1896-7), 354, n. 419, 420.

<sup>22</sup>Robson, p. xvi.

<sup>23</sup>Amours, p. 354, n. 419, 420.

<sup>24</sup>Eilert Ekwall, Place-Names of Lancashire, Publications of the University of Manchester, No. 149, English Series, No. 11 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1922), pp. 213-14.

<sup>25</sup>Johnston and Johnston, p. 158.

<sup>26</sup>Watson, p. 119.

<sup>27</sup>Joseph Bain, ed. Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland, II (Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House, 1887), 196, doc. no. 823.

<sup>28</sup>Joseph Bain, ed. Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland, III (Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House, 1887), 302, doc. no. 1651.

<sup>29</sup>Robson, p. xvi.

<sup>30</sup>Amours, p. 354, n. 419, 420.

<sup>31</sup>Hanna (p. 140, notes to ll. 667-9) suggests that "Criffones Castelles may be a reference to Crieff, Perthshire, or to Griff Range in north Derbyshire." There is a Griffith's Moor near the Rhymney in Roath, Glamorganshire, a Gryfe Cairn in Lancashire and a Griff Head, Griff Ho, Griff Mill, Griff's Well and Griff's Wood in the West Riding. None of these would appear to have been sufficiently significant to attract the attention of the Awntyrs poet.

<sup>32</sup>B.G. Charles, Non-Celtic Place-Names in Wales, London Mediaeval Studies Monograph No. 1 (London: University College, 1938), p. 87.

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<sup>33</sup>Madden, pp. 318-19, note to l. 636 of Syr Gawayn and the Grene Knyzt.

<sup>34</sup>Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, ed. J.R.R. Tolkien and E.V. Gordon, 2nd ed. rev. Norman Davis (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), ll. 619-39.

<sup>35</sup>Madden, p. 318-19, note to l. 636 of Syr Gawayn and the Grene Knyzt.

<sup>36</sup>A.H. Williams, Introduction to the History of Wales (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1948), II, The Middle Ages Part 1, 2-3.

<sup>37</sup>There is an Ulf's Well in St. John, Cardiff, Glamorganshire, but the name under which its existence was recorded in the latter half of the twelfth century (fons Ulfi) does not really bear a significant resemblance to "Vlster" (Charles, p. 136). A "Howelles castell" existed in Pembrokeshire, but again, the link with either "Huster" or "Hulster" is only a tenuous one (Charles, p. 105).

<sup>38</sup>Ekwall, p. 197.

<sup>39</sup>There are six place-names beginning with the ul-element in Lancashire, but if any of these had been the site referred to by the Awntyrs poet the scribe or I would probably have recognized the fact.

<sup>40</sup>EPN 20, 245.

<sup>41</sup>EPN 20, 232.

<sup>42</sup>EPN 20, 110.

<sup>43</sup>A.M. Armstrong, A. Mawer, F.M. Stenton and Bruce Dickins, The Place-Names of Cumberland, Vol. XXI of English Place-Name Society (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950), 434.

Hereafter abbreviated to EPN 21.

<sup>44</sup>EPN 20, 88.

<sup>45</sup>EPN 21, 327.

<sup>46</sup>Both Madden (p. 330, note to p. 95) and Amours (p. 329, n. 2) refer to the ruins of a Castle Hewin or Hewen which stood near the Tarn Wadling. However, neither chose to draw a connection between this and the "Huster" or "Vlster" of l. 668.

<sup>47</sup>An Index of the Arthurian Names in Middle English, Stanford University Publications in Language and Literature, No. 10 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, and London: Oxford University Press, 1952), p. 242.

<sup>48</sup>"Wotfordsweye" (1313). See Charles, p. 164.

<sup>49</sup>George Fraser Black, The Surnames of Scotland (New York: New York Public Library, 1946), p. 803.

<sup>50</sup>Liam Price, The Place-Names of County Wicklow (Dublin: Institute for Advanced Studies, 1949), III, 146-47. There is a Griffithston in St. Issells, Pembrokeshire, but Griffinstown, in view of its proximity to Wexford and Waterford, seems a more satisfactory candidate for identification with "Griffon's Castle."

<sup>51</sup>See P.W. Joyce, Irish Local Names Explained (Dublin: Education Co. of Ireland, Ltd., 1923), p. 93, and Henry F. Berry, ed., Statutes and Ordinances and Acts of the Parliaments of Ireland, I (Dublin: H.M. Stationer's Office, 1907), 194, 364, 392. The identification of the localities referred to in l. 669 with Wexford and Waterford was suggested but not pursued by Hoyt (p. 182). According to Hanna (p. 140, note to ll. 667-9), "Wayford" may be identified with "places called Wath in Cumberland, the North Riding and the West Riding. And Waterford might be connected with Water Fulforde, near York."

<sup>52</sup>Amours, p. 363, n. 678.

<sup>53</sup>Robson, p. xvi; Amours, p. 363, n. 678. Hanna (p. 140, note to l. 678) remarks that "D. may refer to Laversdale in Cumberland, or to the villages Lever, Lancs., or Laverton, Yorks."

<sup>54</sup>EPN 21, 431.

<sup>55</sup>J. Nicholson and R. Burn, The History and Antiquities of the Counties of Westmorland and Cumberland (London, 1777), II,

421, cited in EPN 20, 234-35.

<sup>56</sup>Robson, p. xvi.

<sup>57</sup>See 11. 3, 288, 689, 690.

<sup>58</sup>Amours, p. 363, n. 681.

<sup>59</sup>Hanna, p. 141, note to l. 681. There was a barony of "Levyngton" or "Levington" in Cumberland. See Bain, II, 163, doc. no. 698; 331. Livingston is a village and parish in West Lothian. Early forms of this name include "Levyngeston" (1303-4), "LevyNSTon" (1423-4) and "Levingstoun" (1449). See Joseph Bain, Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland, IV (Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House, 1888), 191, doc. no. 942, 246, doc. no. 1216; 482.

<sup>60</sup>Oxford English Dictionary (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), XII, 323.

<sup>61</sup>J. Balfour Paul and J. Maitland Thomson, eds., The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland, 1513-1546 (Edinburgh: H.M. General Register House, 1883), passim.

<sup>62</sup>H.M. Chadwick, Early Scotland; The Picts, the Scots and the Welsh of Southern Scotland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1949), p. 127.

<sup>63</sup>See Ernst Brugger, "The Hebrides in Arthurian Literature,"

Arthuriana, 2 (Jan. 1929-June 1930), 7-19 and "'Pelande,'  
'Galvoie' and Arragoce' in the Romance of Fergus," in A  
Miscellany of Studies in Romance Languages and Literature  
Presented to Leon E. Kastner, ed. Mary Williams and James A.  
de Rothschild (Cambridge: W. Heffer and Sons, Ltd. 1932), pp.  
94-107.

<sup>64</sup>Hanna (p. 141, note to line 681) suggests that Lemmoke  
"might represent Lemmington, Northumberland, a place referred  
to in early documents as Lemocton."

<sup>65</sup>Black, p. 445.